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THE ISLAMIC DYNASTIES

*a chronological and
genealogical
handbook*

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TWO

SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA



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The Spanish Umayyads

138-422/756-1031

- 138/756 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān I ad-Dākhil
- 172/788 Hishām I
- 180/796 al-Ḥakam I
- 206/822 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān II al-Mutawassiṣ
- 238/852 Muḥammad I
- 273/886 al-Mundhir
- 275/888 'Abdallāh
- 300/912 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān III an-Nāṣir
- 350/961 al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir
- 366/976 Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad, *first reign*
- 399/1009 Muḥammad II al-Mahdī, *first reign*
- 400/1009 Sulaymān al-Musta'in, *first reign*
- 400/1010 Muḥammad II, *second reign*
- 400/1010 Hishām II, *second reign*
- 403/1013 Sulaymān, *second reign*
- 407/1016 Ḥammūdīd 'Alī an-Nāṣir
- 408/1018 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān IV al-Murtaḍā
- 408/1018 Ḥammūdīd al-Qāsim al-Ma'mūn, *first time*
- 412/1021 Ḥammūdīd Yahyā al-Mu'talī, *first time*
- 413/1022 Ḥammūdīd al-Qāsim, *second time*
- 414/1023 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān V al-Mustazhir
- 414/1024 Muḥammad III al-Mustakfi
- 416/1025 Ḥammūdīd Yahyā, *second time*
- 418-22/1027-31 Hishām III al-Mu'tadd
- Mulūk at-Tawā'if*

Arab and Berber troops crossed over the Straits of Gibraltar from Morocco to Spain in 92/711 and speedily overthrew the Visigoths, the Germanic military aristocracy who ruled Spain. During the next decades, they drove the remnants of the Visigoths into the Cantabrian Mts of the extreme north of the Iberian peninsula, and even penetrated across the Pyrenees into Frankish Gaul, until Charles Martel defeated them at Poitiers (or Tours) in 114/732. During these early years, Spain was ruled by a succession of Arab governors sent out from the east, but in 138/756 'Abd-ar-Rahmān I, later called *ad-Dākhil* 'the Incomer', and one of the few Umayyads to have escaped slaughter in the 'Abbāsid revolution, appeared in Spain and founded the Umayyad Amirate there.

In a peninsula where the facts of geography militate against central control and firm rule, the establishment of the Umayyads was an achievement indeed. The Amirate was based on Seville and Cordova, but the Amirs' hold on the provinces was less secure. Although a good proportion of the Hispano-Roman population became Muslim (the *Muwalladūn*), a substantial number remained Christians (the Mozarabs), and looked to the independent Christian north for moral and religious support. In particular, Toledo, the ancient capital of the Visigoths and the ecclesiastical centre of Spain, was a centre of rebelliousness. Amongst the Muslims, there were many local princes whose military strength as marcher lords enabled them to live virtually independently of the capital Cordova; these flourished above all in the Ebro valley of the north-east, the later Aragon and Catalonia (e.g. the Tujibids of Saragossa and the Banū-Qasī of Tudela). In the later ninth century, there were two centres of prolonged rebellion against the central government, one around Badajoz under Ibn-Marwān the Galician, and the other in the mountains of Granada under Ibn-Hafṣūn.

Despite these weaknesses, and despite the continued independence of the petty Christian kingdoms of the north, the Spanish Umayyads made Cordova a remarkable centre of trade and industrial production; and as a home of Arabic culture and learning, it was only inferior to Cairo and Baghdad. The tenth century is dominated by the greatest ruler of the dynasty, 'Abd-ar-Rahmān III, called *an-Nāṣir* 'the Victorious', who

reigned for fifty years (300-50/912-61). He raised the power of the monarchy to a new pitch; court ceremonial was made more elaborate, possibly with Byzantine practice in mind, and 'Abd-ar-Rahmān countered the pretensions of his enemies the Fāṭimids by himself adopting the titles of Caliph and Commander of the Faithful. The doctrine of orthodox legal theory, that the caliphate was one and indivisible, was thus clearly set aside. The army's strength was built up with fresh Berber recruits from Africa and with slave troops brought from all parts of Christian Europe (the *Ṣaḡālība*). The Christians of the north were humbled and an anti-Fāṭimid policy launched in North Africa. In the last years of the tenth century, real power in the state passed to the *Hājib* or chief minister, Ibn-Abi-'Amir, called *al-Manṣūr* 'the Victorious' (the Almanzor of Christian sources); it was he who captured Barcelona and who sacked the shrine of St James of Compostella in Galicia.

Yet early in the eleventh century, for reasons which still remain rather mysterious, the Umayyad caliphate fell apart. A series of short-lived caliphates alternated with rule by members of the Hammūdīd family, local rulers of Malaga and later of Algeciras. The Umayyads finally disappeared in 422/1031, and Muslim Spain fell into a period of political fragmentation, in the course of which various local princes and ethnic groups held power (the age of the *Mulūk al-jawā'if* or Reyes de Taifas, see p. 14).

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 19-22; Zambaur, 3-4 and Table 7.

G. C. Miles, *The coinage of the Umayyads of Spain* (American Numismatic Society, Hispanic Numismatic Series: Monographs, No. 1, New York 1950).

<5>

The Mulūk at-Tawā'if in Spain
Eleventh century

The half-century or so between the final collapse of the Umayyad caliphate and the coming of the Almoravids was one of political fragmentation accompanied, however, by great cultural brilliance. A number of local dynasties, enumerated at twenty-three by A. R. Nykl, seized power in the various parts of al-Andalus, some of these being mere city-states, others, like the Afāsids in the south-west, ruling great tracts of territory. These dynasties were of varying race, reflecting the heterogeneousness of the military classes under the Umayyads and the ethnic tensions and rivalries amongst these groups. Some were pure Arab, like the 'Abbādid of Seville and the Hūdids of Saragossa. Others were Berber like the Mīknāsa Afāsids of Badajoz, the Hawwāra Dhū-n-Nūnids of Toledo (whose original name was the Berber one of Zennūn), and probably the Hammūdids of Malaga, even though the latter had become somewhat Arabised by the eleventh century and were tracing their descent through the Moroccan Idrisids to the caliph 'Alī. Some of the Taifas sprang out of the great influx of troops from Africa which had taken place under al-Manṣūr at the end of the tenth century, such as the Ṣanhāja Berber Zirids of Elvira; and a group of 'Āmirid clients and descendants of al-Manṣūr flourished in Valencia. In certain places of the south-east, e.g. in Tortosa, Denia, and initially at Valencia, military commanders of Ṣaqlabī origin seized power for a time.

The larger Taifas pursued aggressive policies at the expense of their neighbours. The 'Abbādid expanded almost to Toledo, and to further their designs at one stage resuscitated a man who claimed to be the last Umayyad caliph, Hishām III. Several of the Taifas were quite content to intrigue with or even call in the Christians against their fellow-Muslims; the last Afāsīd, 'Umar al-Mutawakkil, was ready to cede most of the territory he held in Portugal to Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile in return for help against the Almoravids.

Towards the end of the eleventh century, the tide was clearly beginning to flow against the Muslims in Spain. The religious classes reacted against the hedonism and irresponsibility of so

many of the local rulers, and were ready to accept the rule of the puritanical Berber Almoravids; as it happened, the Christians' capture of Toledo in 418/1085 made an appeal to the Almoravids by the 'Abbādid poet-king al-Mu'tamid inescapable.

The most important dynasties amongst the Mulūk at-Tawā'if were as follows (for complete details, see Zambaur, 53-7 and Map 1):

- Hammūdids in Malaga and Algeciras (400-49/1010-57)
- 'Abbādid in Seville (414-84/1023-91)
- Zirids in Granada (403-83/1012-90)
- Banū-Yahyā in Niebla (414-43/1023-51)
- Banū-Muzayn in Silves, Algarve (419-45/1028-53)
- Banū-Razin in Albarracin, La Sahlā (402-c. 500/1011-c. 1107)
- Banū-Qāsim in Alpuente (c. 430-85/c. 1029-92)
- Jahwarids in Cordova (422-61/1031-69)
- Afāsids or Banū-Maslama in Badajoz (413-87/1022-94)
- Dhū-n-Nūnids in Toledo (before 419-78/before 1028-85)
- 'Āmirids in Valencia (412-89/1021-96)
- Banū-Šumādih in Almeria (c. 430-80/c. 1039-87)
- Tujībids and then Hūdids in Saragossa, Lerida, Tudela, Calatayud, Denia, Tortosa (410-536/1019-1142)
- Banū-Mujāhid and Banū-Ghūniya in Majorca (413-601/1022-1205)
- Almoravid conquest of Muslim Spain 483/1090*

1. Hammūdids of Malaga

- 400/1010 'Alī an-Nāṣir
- 407/1016 al-Qāsim I al-Ma'mūn, *first reign*
- 412/1021 Yahyā I al-Mu'tali, *first reign*
- 413/1023 al-Qāsim I, *second reign*
- 414/1023 Yahyā I, *second reign*
- 427/1036 Idrīs I al-Muta'ayyid
- 430/1039 Yahyā II
- 430/1039 al-Hasan al-Mustanṣir
- 434/1043 Idrīs II al-'Alī, *first reign*
- 438/1046 Muḥammad I al-Mahdi
- 440/1048 Muḥammad II al-Mu'tasim
- 440/1048 al-Qāsim II al-Wāthiq

- 446/1054 Idris III al-Muwaffaq
 446/1054 Idris II, *second reign*
 447-9/1055-7 Muḥammad III al-Musta'li
*Conquest of the main branch in Malaga
 by the Zirids of Granada, and of the
 cadet branch in Algeciras by the
 'Abbāside in 450/1058*

[N.B. the above table is based on that in Prieto y Vives (see bibliography), which differs considerably from that in Zambaur, 53-4]

2. 'Abbāsids of Seville

- 414/1023 Muḥammad I b. 'Abbād
 433/1042 'Abbād al-Mu'taḍid
 461-84/1069-91 Muḥammad II al-Mu'tamid
Almoravid conquest

3. Jahwarids of Cordova

- 422/1031 Jahwar
 435/1043 Muḥammad ar-Raḥīd
 450-61/1058-69 'Abd-al-Malik
'Abbāsid conquest

4. Afṣāsids of Badajoz

- 413/1022 'Abdallāh al-Manṣūr
 437/1045 Muḥammad al-Muẓaffar
 460-87/1068-94 'Umar al-Mutawakkil
Almoravid conquest

5. Dhū-n-Nūnids of Toledo

- ? 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Dhī-n-Nūn
 419/1028 Ismā'il az-Zāfir
 435/1043 Yahyā al-Ma'mūn
 467-78/1075-85 Yahyā al-Qādir
Conquest by Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile

6. 'Amirids of Valencia

- 412/1021 'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Manṣūr
 453/1061 'Abd-al-Malik al-Muẓaffar
 457-68/1065-76 Dhū-n-Nūnid occupation

- 468/1076 Abū-Bakr
 478/1085 al-Qāḍī 'Uthmān
 478-83/1085-90 Dhū-n-Nūnid Yahyā al-Qādir
 483-9/1090-6 al-Qāḍī Ja'far
*Conquest by El Cid and then by the
 Almoravids*

7. Tujibids and Hūdids in Saragossa, etc.

Tujibids

- 410/1019 Mundhir I al-Manṣūr
 414/1023 Yahyā al-Muẓaffar
 420/1029 Mu'izz-ad-Dawla Mundhir II

Hūdids

- 430/1039 Sulaymān al-Musta'in
 438/1046 Aḥmad I al-Muqtadir
 474/1081 Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin
 478/1085 Aḥmad II al-Musta'in
 503/1110 'Imād-ad-Dawla

'Abd-al-Malik

under Almoravid
 suzerainty

- 513-36/1119-42 Aḥmad III al-Mustansir

*Conquest by Alfonso I el Batallador and
 Ramiro II of Aragon*

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Zambaur, 53-7; Lane Poole, 23-6.

A. Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas, estudio histórico-numismático de los Musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la Hégira (XI de J. C.)* (Madrid 1926).

G. C. Miles, *Coins of the Spanish Mulūk al-Tawā'if* (American Numismatic Society, Hispanic Numismatic Series: Monographs, No. 3, New York 1954).

§1 'Saragossa', 'Tudjib (Banū)' (E. Lévi-Provençal).

§1 'Abbāḍids', 'Aḥṣāsids' (E. Lévi-Provençal); 'Dhu'l-Nūnids' (D. M. Dunlop); 'Djahwarids', 'Hammūdids' (A. Huici Miranda).

(6)

The Nasrids or Banū-l-Aḥmar

617-897/1230-1492

Granada

619, 1232	Muḥammad I al-Ghālib, called Ibn-al-Aḥmar
671/1272	Muḥammad II al-Ṭāqī
701/1302	Muḥammad III al-Maḥdū'
708/1308	Nasr
713/1313	Ismā'īl I
725/1325	Muḥammad IV
733/1333	Yūsuf I
755/1354	Muḥammad V al-Ghānī, <i>first reign</i>
760/1359	Ismā'īl II
761/1360	Muḥammad V I
763, 1362	Muḥammad V, <i>second reign</i>
793/1391	Yūsuf II
797/1395	Muḥammad VII al-Musta'in
810/1407	Yūsuf III
820, 1417	Muḥammad VIII al-Mutamassik, <i>first reign</i>
822, 1419	Muḥammad IX as-Saghar, <i>first reign</i>
831, 1427	Muḥammad VIII, <i>second reign</i>
833, 1430	Muḥammad IX, <i>second reign</i>
835/1432	Yūsuf IV
835, 1432	Muḥammad IX, <i>third reign</i>
845, 1445	Muḥammad X al-Aḥnaf, <i>first reign</i>
849, 1449	Yūsuf V, <i>first reign</i>
849/1446	Muḥammad X, <i>second reign</i>
851, 1447	Muḥammad IX, <i>fourth reign</i> (854-5/1451-2, in association with Muḥammad XI)
857, 1453 or 858, 1454	Sa'd al-Musta'in, <i>first reign</i>
867, 1462	Yūsuf V, <i>second reign</i>
867, 1462	Sa'd, <i>second reign</i>
868, 1464	'Alī, <i>first reign</i>
887, 1482	Muḥammad XI (Boabdil) <i>first as sole ruler</i>
888, 1483	'Alī, <i>second reign</i>
890, 1485	Muḥammad XII as-Zayḥall
892-7, 1487-92	Muḥammad XI, <i>second reign</i> <i>Spanish conquest</i>

After the Almohads abandoned Spain, most of the Muslim cities fell speedily into the Christians' hands; Cordova fell in 635/1236 and Seville in 646/1248. One Muslim chief of Arab descent, Muhammad al-Ghâzi, managed to gain control of the mountainous and easily-defensible province of Granada, and made the citadel of the town of Granada, known as the Alhambra (*al-Hamrâ* 'the red [fortress]'), his centre, agreeing to pay tribute first to Ferdinand I of Castile and then to his successor Alfonso X. The Nasrid sultans tried to pursue a policy of balance between the Christians and the Marinids of Fez, whose ambition it was to regain Spain for Islam, but Muslim hopes of successful Marinid intervention were dashed by Sultan Abû-l-Hasan 'Alî's defeat by Alfonso XI of Castile at the Río Salado in 741/1340.

Despite its precarious position, Granada remained for two and a half centuries a centre of Muslim civilisation, attracting scholars and literary men from all over the Muslim West. The historian Ibn-Khaldûn served as a diplomatist for Muhammad V; and the vizier Lisân-ad-Dîn Ibn-al-Nafîs, whose history of Granada is a source of major importance, Nasrid Granada produced a major literary figure. But the marriage of Ferdinand II of Aragon to Isabella of Castile in 1469 brought about the unification of Christian Spain under one crown, and the prospects for Granada's survival darkened. The Muslims in fact hastened their own end by refusing the customary tribute and by becoming embroiled in internal succession disputes, and in 897/1492 Granada fell to the Christians, the last Nasrids fleeing to Morocco.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 28-9, Zambaur, 58-9.

L. Seco de Lucena Parades, 'Una rectificación a la historia de los últimos nâsrides', *Al-Andalus*, XVII (1952), 153-63.

idem, 'Mas rectificaciones a la historia de los últimos nâsrides: un sultán llamado Muhammad «el Chiquito»', *Al-Andalus*, XXIV (1959), 275-95.

(7)
The Idrisids
172-314/789-926
Morocco

172/789	Idris I
177/793	Idris II
213/828	Muhammad al-Muntaṣir
221/836	'Alī I
234/849	Yahyā I
?	Yahyā II
?	'Alī II
?	Yahyā III al-Miqdām
292/905	Yahyā IV
310-14, 922-6	al-Hasan al-Hajjām
	<i>Fātimid conquest</i>

The Idrisids were the first dynasty who attempted to introduce the doctrines of Shi'ism, albeit in a very attenuated form, to the Maghrib; until their time, the region had been dominated by the radical equalitarianism of the Kharijīs. Idris I was a great-grandson of Caliph 'Alī's son al-Hasan, and thus connected with the line of Shi'ī Imāms. He took part in an Alid rising in the Hijāz against the 'Abbāsids in 169/786, and was compelled to flee to Egypt and then to North Africa, where the prestige of Alid descent led several Zenāta Berber chiefs of northern Morocco to recognise him as their leader. It seems to have been Idris I, and not his son Idris II, who began the building of Fez on the site of the old Roman town of Volubilis. It soon became populous, attracting emigrants from Muslim Spain and Ifriqiyya, and it became the Idrisids' capital, its rôle as a holy city, home of the *Shorfā'* or privileged descendants of the Prophet's grandsons al-Hasan and al-Husain, also begins now, and henceforth, the *Shorfā'* are an important factor in Moroccan history (see below, pp. 38-41). The Idrisid period is also important for the diffusion of Islamic culture over the recently-converted Berber peoples of the interior.

However, during the reign of Muhammad al-Muntaṣir the Idrisid dominions became politically fragmented. Their various towns – the Idrisids' hold in Morocco was essentially on the

towns rather than the countryside – were divided out as appanages to various of Muhammad's many brothers. The Idrisids thus fell prey to attacks from their Berber enemies, but in the tenth century a more determined and dangerous foe appeared in the shape of the Fātimids. Yahyā IV had to recognise the suzerainty of the Mahdī 'Ubaydallāh, and in 309/921 Fez was occupied by a Fātimid army. After this time, the rule of various other branches of the Idrisids survived in outlying parts of Morocco, from Tamdult in the south to the home of the Ghomāra Berbers in the Rif of northern Morocco, but the history of these lines is very obscure. The Idrisids of the Rif were threatened when the Spanish Umayyads initiated a forward policy in the Maghrib (i.e. North Africa, 'the Western land') against their Fātimid enemies and seized Ceuta, and in 363/974 the last Idrisids were carried off to Cordova. In the period of Umayyad decadence some three or four decades later, a distant branch of the Idrisid family, the Hammūdids, obtained control of Algeciras and Malaga, and ruled there as one of the Taifas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY, Lane Poole, 35; Zambaur, 63 and Table A.
H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc des origines à l'établissement du Protectorat français* (Casablanca 1949-50), I.

(8)

The Rustamids
160-296/777-909
Western Algeria

160/777	'Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Rustam
168/784	'Abd-al-Wahhāb (or 'Abd-al-Wārith) b. 'Abd-ar-Rahmān
208/823	Abū-Sa'īd Aṭṭah
258/872	Abū-Isḥāq b. Aṭṭah
	Abū-l-Yaḥyā Muhammad
281/894	Abū-Hātim Yūsuf, <i>first reign</i>
284/897	Ya'qūb b. Aṭṭah
288/901	Abū-Hātim Yūsuf, <i>second reign</i>
294-6/907-9	Yaḥyā b. Muhammad
	<i>Capture of Tāhart by the Fātimid Dā'ī</i> <i>Abū-'Abdallāh</i>

The Rustamids have an importance for the history of North African Islam quite disproportionate to the duration and extent of their political power. In the eighth century, the majority of the Berbers of North Africa adopted the radical, equalitarian religio-political sect of Khārijism as a protest against domination by their orthodox Arab masters. Whereas in the east, Khārijism was an extremist, savagely violent minority sect, in the west it was a mass movement and therefore more moderate. The Khārijī sub-sect of the Ibādiyya, the followers of one 'Abdallāh b. Ibād, had their original North African centre amongst the Zenāta Berbers of the Jebel Nefūsa in modern Tripolitania. After a temporary occupation of Qayrawān, the centre of orthodoxy and Arab power in the Maghrib, a group of Ibādiyya fled to western Algeria under the leadership of 'Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Rustam, whose name would show Persian descent, and founded a Khārijī principality centred on Tāhart or Tihart (modern Tiaret) (144/761). In 160/777 he became Imām of all the Ibādiyya in North Africa. This nucleus around Tāhart was linked with the Ibādī communities of the Aurès, southern Tunisia and Tripolitania, and groups as far south as the Fezzān oasis acknowledged the spiritual headship of the Rustamid Imāms. Surrounded as they were by enemies, the

Shi'i Idrisids on the west and the Sunni Aghlabids on the east, the Rustamids sought the alliance of the Spanish Umayyads, and received subsidies from them. But the rise of the Shi'i Fāṭimids in Morocco was fatal for the Rustamids, as for other local dynasties of the Maghrib. In 296/909 Tāhart fell to the Ketāma Berbers of the Fāṭimid *Dā'i* or propagandist, Abū-'Abdallāh; many of the Rustamids were massacred, and the rest fled southwards to Wargla.

Tāhart under the Rustamids enjoyed a great material prosperity, being the northern terminus of one of the trans-Saharan caravan routes, and it acquired the name of 'Little Iraq'. It attracted a cosmopolitan population, amongst whom were appreciable Persian and Christian elements, and was a centre of scholarship. Its great historical rôle was as a rallying-point and nerve-centre for Kharijism throughout North Africa and even beyond, although it succumbed politically to the Fāṭimids, the Ibādī doctrines long remained potent in the Maghrib, and have indeed survived to this day in a few places like the Mzāh oasis in Algeria, the Tunisian island of Jerba, and in the Jebel Nefūsa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Zambaur, 64, § 11 'Rustamids' (G. Marçais). Chikh Bekri, 'Le Kharijisme berbère: quelques aspects du royaume rustumide', *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, xv (Algiers 1957), 11-128.

<9>

The Aghlabids

184-296, 800-909

Ifriqiyya, Algeria, Sicily

184/800	Ibrāhīm I b. al-Aghlab
197/812	'Abdallāh I
201/817	Ziyādat-Allāh I
223/838	Abū-'Iqāl al-Aghlab
226/841	Muhammad I
242/856	Aḥmad
249/863	Ziyādat-Allāh II
250/863	Abū-l-Gharāniq Muhammad II
261/875	Ibrāhīm II
289/902	'Abdallāh II
290-6, 903-9	Ziyādat-Allāh III
	<i>Fātimid conquest</i>

Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab's father was a Khurasanian officer in the 'Abbasid army, and in 184/800 the son was granted the province of Ifriqiyya (modern Tunisia) by Hārūn ar-Rashīd in return for an annual tribute of 40,000 dinars. The grant involved considerable rights of autonomy, and the great distance of North Africa from Baghdad ensured that none of the Aghlabids were much disturbed by the caliphal government. The first Aghlabids suppressed outbreaks of Berber Khārījism in their territories, and then under Ziyādat-Allāh I, one of the most capable and energetic members of the family, the great project of the conquest of Sicily from the Byzantines was begun in 217/827. An extensive corsair fleet was launched, making the Aghlabids supreme in the central Mediterranean and enabling them to harry the coasts of southern Italy, Sardinia, Corsica, and even of the Maritime Alps. Malta was captured in 255/868. It is probable that the conquest of Sicily was begun in order to divert fanatical energies into *jihād* against the infidels, for the early Aghlabids had had to cope with strong internal opposition in Ifriqiyya from the *Māliḥā fuyūḥā* or religious leaders in Qayrawān (Carthage). By 264/878 the conquest of Sicily was virtually complete, and the island remained under Muslim rule, at first under Aghlabid and then under Fātimid governors, until

the Norman conquest of the later eleventh century, forming an important centre for the diffusion of Islamic culture to Christian Europe. The Aghlabids were also enthusiastic builders; Ziryādāt-Allāh I rebuilt the Great Mosque of Qayrawān, and Ahmad that of Tunis, and useful agricultural and irrigation works were constructed, especially in the less fertile south of Ifriqiyya.

However, the Aghlabids' position in Ifriqiyya deteriorated towards the end of the ninth century. The Shi'ī propaganda of Abū-'Abdallāh, the precursor of the Fātimid Mahdī 'Ubayd-allāh, had a powerful effect amongst the Ketāma Berbers; this burst out into a military rising, and the last Aghlabid Ziryādāt-Allāh III was driven out to Egypt in 296/909, after fruitless attempts to secure help from the 'Abbāsids.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 36-8; Zambaur, 67-8.
 E1² 'Aghlabids' (G. Marçais).

< 10 >

The Zirids and Hammādids

361-347/972-1152

Ifriqiyya and eastern Algeria

1. Zirids

361/972 Yūsuf Buluggīn 1 b. Zīrī

373/984 al-Manṣūr b. Buluggīn

386/996 Nāṣir-ad-Dawla Bādīs

406/1016 Sharaf-ad-Dawla al-Mu'izz

414/1062 Tamīm

501/1108 Yahyā

509/1116 'Alī

515-43/1121-48 al-Ḥasan

Norman and then Almohad conquest

2. Hammādids

405/1015 Ḥammād b. Buluggīn 1 b. Zīrī

419/1028 al-Qā'id

446/1054 Muḥsin

447/1055 Buluggīn 11

454/1062 an-Nāṣir

481/1088 al-Manṣūr

498/1105 Bādīs

498/1105 al-'Azīz

515 or 518-47/

1121 or 1124-52 Yahyā

Almohad conquest

The Zirids were Sanhaja Berbers inhabiting the central part of the Maghrib, who early identified themselves with the Fātimid cause, bringing military relief to the Fātimid capital al-Mahdiyya when in 334/945 it was besieged by the Khārijī rebel Abū-Yazīd. Accordingly, when the Fātimid caliph, al-Mu'izz, left for Egypt, he appointed Buluggīn b. Zīrī governor of Ifriqiyya. The latter kept up the traditional enmity of his people with the nomadic Zenāta, and overran all the Maghrib as far as Ceuta. These possessions proved too unwieldy for one man to govern, and under Buluggīn's grandson Bādīs a *divisio imperii* was made: the western regions went to the Hammādīd

branch of the family, and these made their capital at Qal'at Banī-Hammād, whilst the Zīrid main branch retained Ifriqiyya with its capital Qayrawān.

The rich resources and wealth of Ifriqiyya tempted the Zīrid al-Mu'izz to rebel against his Fātimid overlords, and in 433/1041 he transferred his allegiance to the 'Abbāsids (the Hammādids, however, remained faithful to the Fātimids at this time). Hence shortly afterwards, the Fātimids released against the Zīrids bands of unassimilated, barbarian Bedouins of the Hilāl and Sulaym tribes, who migrated from Lower Egypt to the Maghrib. These Arabs gradually worked their way across the countryside, terrorising the towns, and forcing the Zīrids to evacuate Qayrawān for al-Mahdiyya on the coast and the Hammādids to withdraw to the less accessible port of Bougie. Having lost control of the land, they now turned to the sea and built up a fleet; it is, indeed, this period which inaugurates the age of the Barbary corsairs. But they were unable to prevent Muslim Sicily falling to the Normans, even though peaceful commercial relations were later established with the Norman kings. However, in the twelfth century, the Zīrids were hard pressed; Roger II of Sicily captured al-Mahdiyya and the Tunisian coast, forcing al-Hasan to pay tribute, and soon afterwards the Zīrid and Hammādid territories passed to the Almohads.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 39-40; Zambaur, 70-1.

Et 'Zīrids' (G. Margais).

H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides X^e-XII^e siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris 1962), with detailed genealogical and chronological tables, making many corrections to Zambaur.

< 11 >

The Almoravids or al-Murābiṭūn

448-541/1056-1147

North Africa and Spain

?	Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm	chiefs of the Ṣanhāja
?	Yahyā b. 'Umar	Berbers recognising
448-80/1056-73	Abū-Bakr al-Lamtūnī	the spiritual authority of 'Abdallāh b. Yāsīn
453/1061	Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn	
500/1106	'Alī	
537/1142	Tāshufīn	
540/1146	Ibrāhīm	
540-1/1146-7	Is'hāq	
	<i>Almohad conquest</i>	

The Almoravids arose from one of the waves of spiritual exaltation which have at various times in the history of the Maghrib come over the Berber peoples. In the early part of the eleventh century, the Ṣanhāja chief Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm made the Pilgrimage to Arabia; he became filled with enthusiasm, and on his return invited a noted Moroccan scholar, 'Abdallāh b. Yāsīn, to work amongst his people. A *ribāṭ* or fortress was built at the mouth of the Senegal River, and from here warriors for the faith spread a simple, fundamentalist form of Islam through the western Sudan. These warriors were known as *Murābiṭūn*, literally 'those dwelling in the frontier fortresses', and the term has given us the Spanish form *Almoravides* and the French word *marabout* 'holy man, local saint'. These Berbers of the desert wore veils over their faces, as do their modern descendants of the Tuaregs, and were hence also known as *al-Murālātāshīnūn* 'the veiled ones'. Led by Abū-Bakr and his lieutenant Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, they moved northwards against Morocco and conquered North Africa as far as Algiers. Yūsuf now founded Marrākesh as his capital (454/1062). The Almoravids recognised the 'Abhāsīd caliphs as spiritual heads of Islam, and followed the conservative Mālikī law school, dominant in Muslim North Africa.

Muslim Spain was at this time in the fragmented condition of the age of the *Mulūk al-Tawā'if*, and now that the Christian

Reconquista was beginning, it became clear that only the rising power of the Almoravids could save the divided and squabbling principalities there. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn crossed over from Africa in 479/1086 and won a great victory over Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile at Zallūqa near Badajoz, which, however, he regrettably failed to follow up, and Toledo remained in Christian hands. Over the next few years, Yūsuf suppressed almost all the Taifas, only the Hūdids being allowed to remain in Saragossa. But in the early years of the twelfth century, the Almoravid position in the Maghrib was threatened by the rise there of a fresh power, that of the Almohads (see pp. 30-1); it was because of this pressure in the rear that the Almoravids were unable to save Saragossa from the Christians in 512/1118. In 541/1147 the last Almoravid ruler in Marrākesh, Is'ḥāq, was killed, and the Almohads began crossing to Spain. When the last Almoravid governor in Spain, Yahyā b. Ghāniya, whose family was related by marriage to the Almoravids, died in 543/1148, their power was ended, but the post-Almoravid line of the Banū-Ghāniya continued in Majorca from its conquest in 509/1115 till the Aragonese occupation of 625/1228, and in Minorca as vassals of Aragon till 685/1286.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 41-4; Zambaur, 73-4.

EI¹ 'Almoravids' (A. Bel).

EI² Ghāniya, Banū (G. Marçais).

< 12 >

The Almohads or al-Muwahhidūn

524-667/1130-1269

North Africa and Spain

Muhammad b. Tūmart, d. 524/1130

524/1130 'Abd-al-Mu'min

558/1163 Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf I

580/1184 Abū-Yusuf Ya'qūb al-Mansūr

595/1199 Muhammad an-Nāṣir

611/1214 Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf II al-Mustanṣir

620/1224 'Abd-al-Wahid I al-Maḥlū'

621/1224 Abū-Muhammad 'Abdallāh al-'Ādil

624/1227 Yahyā al-Mu'tasim

626/1229 Abu-l- 'Alī Idrīs al-Ma'mūn

632/1232 Abū-Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahid II
al-Ḥashid

640/1242 Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī as-Sa'id al-Mu'tadid

646/1248 Abu Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Murtadā

665-7/1266-9 Abū-l-'Ulā a-Wāthiq

Christian conquest of all Spain except

Granada, North African lands divided

amongst 'Abd al-Ḥādīd, Hafsids

and Marinids

The Almohads (from *al-Muwahhidūn* 'those who affirm God's unity') represented, intellectually, a protest against the rigidly conservative and legalistic Mālikism prevalent in North Africa and against the social laxity of life under the later Almoravids. Their founder, the Berber Ibn-Tūmart, had studied in the east and had acquired ascetic, reforming views. After receiving the homage of the Maṣmūda Berber chiefs of Morocco, he put himself at the head of a mass movement, proclaiming himself the Mahdi or Promised Charismatic Leader. His lieutenant, 'Abd-al-Mu'min, later styled himself Ibn-Tūmart's caliph or representative. The Almohads gradually took over Morocco, extinguishing the Almoravids there and making Marrākesh their own capital. In Spain, there was a vacuum of power after the decline of the Almoravids, in which some local groups like the Taitas of the previous century reappeared (e.g. in Valencia,

Cordova and Murcia); then in 540/1145 'Abd-al-Mu'min despatched an army to Spain and soon occupied all the Muslim territory there. A powerful Almohad kingdom, now with its capital at Seville, was constituted; 'Abd-al-Mu'min conquered as far as Tunis and Tripoli, and the Ayyūbid Saladin sought his alliance and naval assistance against the Franks. The structure of the Almohad state reflected the Messianic, authoritarian nature of Ibn-Tūmart's original teaching, and was built round a close-knit hierarchy of the caliph's advisers and intimates. The court was a splendid centre of art and learning, above all for the last flowering of Islamic philosophy associated with such scholars as Ibn-Tufayl and Ibn-Rushd (Averroes), both of whom acted as court physicians to the Almohad sultans.

Yet the Almohads could not hold up the Christian advance permanently. A victory at Alarcos in 591/1195 had no lasting effect, and the catastrophic defeat of Las Navas de Tolosa in 609/1212 at the hands of a coalition of the Christian kings of the peninsula, resulted in the withdrawal of the Almohads from Spain altogether. The last sultans reigned only in North Africa, but there too their grip began to loosen. The rising of Yagh-amrān b. Zayyān at Tlemcen in 633/1236 led to the foundation there of the independent 'Abd-al-Wādid dynasty; and in the next year, Abū-Zakariyā' Yahyā, the governor of Ifriqiyya, proclaimed his independence in Tunis and founded the dynasty of the Hafsids. Finally, the Almohad capital Marrākeṣh itself fell to the Marinids in 667/1269.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 45-7, Zambaur, 73-4.

†1¹ 'Almohads' (A. Bel).

A. Hucí Miranda, *Historia política del imperio Almohade*, 2 vols. (Tetuan 1956-7).

(13)

The Marinids and Wattasids

592-956/1196-1549

Morocco

1. Line of Marinids

- 592/1196 Abū-Muhammad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq I
 614/1217 'Uthmān I
 637/1240 Muhammad I
 642/1244 Abū-Yahyā Abū-Bakr
 656/1258 Abū-Yūsuf Ya'qūb
 685/1286 Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf
 706/1307 Abū-Thābit 'Amir
 708/1308 Abū-r-Rabi' Sulaymān
 710/1310 Abū-Sa'id 'Uthmān II
 732/1331 Abū-l-Hasan 'Alī I
 749/1348 Abū-'Inān Fāris
 759/1359 Muhammad II as-Sa'id
 760/1359 Abū-Sālim 'Alī II
 762/1361 Abū-'Umar Tāshufīn
 763/1361 'Abd-al-Ḥalīm (at first in Fez, then in
 Sijilmāsa)
 763/1362 Abū-Zayyān Muhammad III
 768/1366 Abū-l-Fāris 'Abd-al-'Aziz I
 774/1372 Abū-Zayyān Muhammad IV
 776/1374 Abū-l-'Abbās Ahmad, *first reign*
 786/1384 Mūsā
 788/1386 Abū-Zayyān Muhammad V
 788/1386 Muhammad VI
 789/1387 Abū-l-'Abbās Ahmad, *second reign*
 796/1393 Abū-l-Fāris
 799/1397 'Abd-al-'Aziz II
 800/1398 'Abdallāh
 801/1399 Abū-Sa'id 'Uthmān III
 823-31/1420-8 *interregnum of the Zayyānid or 'Abd-al-*
 Wādīd of Tlemcen, Abū-Malik 'Abd-
 al-Wādīd
 831-69/1428-65 Abū-Muhammad 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq II

2. Line of Wattāsids

831/1428	Abū-Zakariyā'	} Regents for the Marinid 'Abd-al- Ḥaqq II
	Yahyā	
852/1448	'Alī	
863/1459	Muhammad I ash-Shaykh	
875/1470	Muhammad II al-Burtuqālī	
931/1525	Aḥmad, <i>first reign</i>	
952/1545	Muhammad III al-Qasrī	
954-6/1547-9	Aḥmad, <i>second reign</i> <i>Sa'dī Sharīfs</i>	

The Marinids succeeded to the heritage of the Almohads in Morocco and the central Maghrib, dividing up their territories with the Hafsids of Tunisia. The Banū-Marīn were a tribe of the nomadic Zenāta Berbers; their cultural level was probably low, and they were uninspired in their bid for power by any of the religious enthusiasm which had given driving power to the conquests of the Almoravids and Almohads. These facts, together with what seem to have been comparatively small numbers, doubtless account for the protracted nature of their struggles with the last Almohads. They first invaded Morocco from the Sahara in 613/1216, but were halted by the Almohad Abū-Sa'īd and did not secure Marrākeṣh till 669/1269 and Sijilmāsa till four years later.

Established with their capital at Fez, the Marinids acquired a strong sense of being heirs to the Almohads, and attempted to rebuild their empire in the Maghrib. They were also inspired with the spirit of *jihād* and dreamed of the reconquest of Spain; the Marinid period does, indeed, see a great growth of maraboutism and popular religious fervour. Several Marinid sultans fought personally in Spain. Abū-Yusūf Ya'qūb crossed over in answer to an appeal from the Nasrids of Granada and won the battle of Ecija in 674/1275. After the Spanish capture of Gibraltar in 709/1309, Marinid troops again appeared in Spain, but Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī was routed at the Rio Salado in 741/1340 by the forces of Alfonso XI of Castile and Alfonso IV of Portugal, and the Marinids never again tried to interfere in Spain. In North Africa, the Marinids wore down their neighbours the 'Abd-al-Wādids of Tlemcen, occupying their capital

in 737/1337 and at later dates, but they were unable to dislodge the Hafṣids from Tunisia.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the decline of the Marinids began to be apparent. In 803/1401 Henry III of Castile attacked Tetuan and in 818/1415 the Portuguese took Ceuta, and this Christian aggressiveness caused a great wave of religious sentiment in the Maghrib and calls for *ḥad* against the infidels. This reaction facilitated the assumption of *de facto* power by the Banū-Wattās, a collateral branch of the Marinids who had already attained high office under the sultans. Abū-Zakariyā' Yahyā at first ruled as regent for the young Marinid 'Abd-al-Haqq II, and set to work combatting the Portuguese. 'Abd-al-Haqq tried in 862/1458 to rule directly, but was assassinated seven years later. The Wattāsid Muḥammad I ash-Shaykh was proclaimed sultan in Fez in 877/1472, seizing the city from the Idrisid *Shaykh*. But the later Wattāsids were unable to withstand the growing power of the Sa'di Sharifs, who finally occupied Fez in 956/1549; an attempted Wattāsid revanche with Ottoman Turkish help failed, and the dynasty was permanently extinguished.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 57-9; Zambaur, 79.

E1 'Merīnids' (G. Marçais), 'Wattāsids' (L. Lévi-Provençal).
H. de Castries, ed., *Les sources médites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845*, Series 1, *Dynastie Saadienne 1530-1660*, Vol. IV, Part 1 (Paris-Madrid 1921), with detailed genealogical table of the Wattāsids at pp. 162-3.

H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, II.

- 625/1228 Abū-Zakariyā' Yahyā I
 647/1249 Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad I al-Muntaṣir
 675/1277 Abū-Zakariyā' Yahyā II al-Wāṭiḥ
 678/1279 Abū-Is'hāq Ibrāhīm I
 681/1282 *usurpation of Ahmad b. Abī-'Umāra*
 683/1284 Abū-Hafṣ 'Umar I (in Tunis)
 684/1285 Abū-Zakariyā' Yahyā III al-Muntakhab
 (in Bougie and Constantine till
 689/1299)
 694/1295 Abū-'Abdallāh (or Abū-'Asida)
 Muḥammad II al-Muntaṣir
 709/1309 Abū-Yahyā Abū-Bakr I ash-Shahid
 709/1309 Abū-l-Baqā' Khālid I an-Nāṣir
 711/1311 Abū-Yahyā Zakariyā' I al-Lahyānī
 (in Tunis)
 717/1317 Abū-Ḥarba Muḥammad III al-Mustansir
 al-Lahyānī (in Tunis)
 718/1318 Abū-Yahyā Abū-Bakr II al-Mutawakkil
 747/1346 Abū-Hafṣ 'Umar II
 748/1348 *first Marinid occupation of Tunis*
 750/1349 Abū-l-'Abbās Aḥmad I al-Faḍl
 al-Mutawakkil (in Tunis)
 750/1350 Abū-Is'hāq Ibrāhīm II al-Mustansir,
 first reign
 758/1357 *second Marinid occupation of Tunis*
 758/1357 Abū-Is'hāq Ibrāhīm II, *second reign*
 (in Tunis till 770/1369; other Hafṣid
 princes in Bougie and Constantine)
 770/1369 Abū-l-Baqā' Khālid II (in Tunis)
 772/1370 Abū-l-'Abbās Aḥmad II al-Mustansir
 (previously in Bougie and
 Constantine)
 796/1394 Abū-Fāris 'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Mutawakkil
 837/1434 Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad IV
 al-Muntaṣir

- 839/1435 Abū-'Umar 'Uthmān
 893/1488 Abū-Zakariyā' Yahyā IV
 894/1489 'Abd-al-Mu'min
 895/1490 Abū-Yahyā Zakariyā' II
 899/1494 Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad V
 al-Mutawakkil
 932/1526 Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Hasan,
 first reign
 941/1534 *first Turkish conquest of Tunis by*
 Khayr-ad-Dīn Barbarossa
 942/1535 al-Hasan, second reign (as vassal of the
 Emperor Charles V)
 950/1543 Ahmad III
 977/1569 *second Turkish conquest of Tunis by*
 'Ulūj 'Alī
 981/1573 Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad VI
 (as a vassal of Spain)
 982/1574 *third and definitive Turkish conquest of*
 Tunis by Sīdīn Pasha

The Hafsids, the most important dynasty in the history of late mediaeval Ifriqiyya, derived their name from Shaykh Abū-Hafs 'Umar (d. 571, 1176), a disciple of the founder of the Almohad movement, Ibn-Tūmart, and one of 'Abd-al-Mu'min's generals. His offspring filled various important offices under the Almohads, including the governorship of Ifriqiyya. One of these Hafsīd governors, Abū-Zakariyā' Yahyā I, in 634/1237 threw off the authority of the Almohad caliph, 'Abd-al-Wāḥid, alleging as a pretext for this the latter's unorthodox innovations. He now expanded westwards into the central Maghrib, taking Constantine, Bougie, and Algiers, making the 'Abd-al-Wāḥids of Tlemcen his tributaries, compelling the Marinids to acknowledge him and receiving appeals for help from the beleaguered Muslims of southern Spain. The power of the Hafsids was equally great under his son al-Muntasir, who repelled the attack of Louis IX of France and Charles of Anjou (668, 1270) and assumed the titles of Caliph and *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, obtaining these titles from the Sharīf of Mecca and claiming to be the heir of the Baghdad 'Abbāsids.

The century and a half after al-Muntasir's death was filled

with violent fluctuations in Hafsid power and stability, with the towns of the central Maghrib and of southern Ifriqiyya and the Jarid region there tending to throw off Hafsid control during periods of weak rule. At times there were several contestants for the Hafsid throne, with claimants ruling in various towns. In the sixteenth century, the dynasty was in clear decline, their authority often being limited to the region of Tunis itself. The establishment of the Turks in Algiers and other ports, and the Hafsids' inability to control these corsair depredations, invited attacks and reprisals by the Christians. The Emperor Charles V planted a Spanish garrison at Tunis in 941/1535. The last Hafsids retained a precarious authority with Spanish help against the Turks, but in 981/1574 Sinân Pasha finally took Tunis, and the last Hafsid was carried off captive to Istanbul.

Tunis under the Hafsids enjoyed a great resurgence in prosperity. Before the disruptive activity of the Barbary corsairs caused a deterioration in relations, the Hafsids had extensive commercial treaties with the Italian and southern French towns and with Aragon. The land benefited also from the influx of Spanish Muslim refugees (amongst whom were the historian Ibn-Khaldûn's forebears). Tunis became a great artistic and intellectual centre, and it was the Hafsids who in the thirteenth century introduced the madrasa system of education previously known in the lands to the east.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Lane Poole, 49-50, 52-3; Zambaur, 74-6.

Et¹ 'Hafsids' (H. R. Idries).

R. Brunschwig, *La Berberie orientale sous les Hafsides des origines à la fin du XV^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris 1940-7).

< 15 >

The Sharifs of Morocco

917- /1511-

1. Sa'dis

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|
| 917/1511 | Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Qā'im-bi-amr-
Allāh (in Sūs) | |
| 923/1517 | Ahmad al-A'raj (in Marrākesh till
947/1540) | |
| 923/1517 | Muhammad ash-Shaykh al-Mahdi b.
Muhammad al-Mahdi (at first in Sūs,
later in Fez) | |
| 964/1557 | 'Abdallāh al-Ghālib | |
| 981/1574 | Muhammad al-Mutawakkil al-Maslūkh | |
| 983/1576 | 'Abd-al-Malik b. Muhammad
ash-Shaykh al-Mahdi | |
| 986/1578 | Ahmad al-Mansūr | |
| 1012-17/1603-8 | Muhammad ash-Shaykh
al-Ma'mūn | sons of
Ahmad, in
rivalry for the
succession |
| 1012-17/1603-8 | 'Abdallāh al-Wāṣṭiq
(in Marrākesh) | |
| 1012-39/1603-18 | Zaydān an-Nāsir
(at first, in Fez only) | |
| 1034/1623 | 'Abd al-Malik b. Zaydān | in
Marrākesh
only |
| 1042/1631 | al-Walid | |
| 1045/1636 | Muhammad al-Asghar | |
| 1064-9/1654-9 | Ahmad al-'Abbās | |

2. Filālis

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 1041/1631 | Muhammad I ash-Sharif (in Tāfilālt) |
| 1045/1635 | Muhammad II b. Muhammad |
| 1075/1664 | ar-Rashid |
| 1082/1672 | Ismā'il as-Samīn |
| 1139/1727 | Ahmad ad-Dhalabi |
| 1141/1739 | 'Abdallāh |
| 1145-58/1735-45 | <i>'Abdallāh's power contested by various
usurpers and pretenders</i> |
| 1171/1757 | Muhammad III b. 'Abdallāh |
| 1204/1790 | Yazid |
| 1206/1792 | Hishām |

1207/1793	Sulaymān
1238/1822	'Abd-ar-Rahmān
1276/1859	Muḥammad i v b. 'Abd-ar-Rahmān
1290/1873	al-Ḥasan i b. Muḥammad
1312/1895	'Abd-al-'Aziz
1325/1907	al-Ḥāfiṣ
1330/1912	Yūsuf
1345/1927	Muḥammad v b. Yūsuf, <i>first reign</i>
1372/1953	Muḥammad b. 'Arafa
1375/1955	Muḥammad v, <i>second reign</i>
1381- /1962-	al-Ḥasan ii b. Muḥammad

From mediaeval times onwards, the *Sharfā'* of Morocco (classical form *Sharafā'*, sing. *Sharif*) have played an outstanding part in the country's history. The Maghrib has often been receptive to the leadership of messianic or charismatic figures, and some of the most characteristic forms of popular Islam there have been the cult of holy men, saints and marabouts (< *murābit*, see above, p. 28), and the formation of religious fraternities organised round the religio-military centres of the *ṣāwīyas*. The strength of maraboutism and the rise to social pre-eminence of the *Sharfā'* have been especially characteristic of Moroccan Islam, for Morocco, with its Atlantic seaboard and its proximity to Spain and Portugal, has borne the brunt of Christian attacks, and the Muslim reaction has been commensurately intense.

The *Sharīfs* are the descendants in general of the Prophet, but in Morocco, most of the lines of *Sharfā'* have traced descent from the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, and the Sa'dīs and Filālīs specifically traced their descent through al-Ḥasan's grandson Muḥammad an-Nafs az-Zakiyya (d. 145/762). The Idrisids (see above, pp. 20-1) were the first line of *Sharīfs* to achieve power in Morocco, but in ensuing centuries various Berber dynasties were dominant there. However, the chance of the *Sharfā'* came in the sixteenth century when the Wattāsids' power in Fez was clearly waning. From a base in the Sūs region of southern Morocco, the Sa'dī line of *Sharfā'* – who had come from Arabia in the later fourteenth century – gradually extended their power northwards, expelling the Wattāsids from Fez in 956/1549. The full name and titles of the founder of the line's fortunes, Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Qā'im-bi-amr-Allāh, show

how messianic expectations and feelings of religious exaltation and *jihād* against the Christians, were utilised by the early Sa'dīs. Their authority was now imposed over almost the whole of Morocco, and the *Bilād al-Maghzen*, the area where the government's writ ran and where taxation and troops were raised, reached its maximum extent. The Turks of Algiers and the Portuguese in the coastlands were repulsed; and Aḥmad al-Manṣūr occupied Timbuctu and destroyed the African kingdom of Gao (on the Niger, in the modern republic of Mali), so that his authority extended for a time from Senegal to Bornu. The social and fiscal privileges of the *Sharfā'* were now further consolidated and confirmed by each new sultan on his accession.

However, the unity of the sultanate weakened in the seventeenth century, when independence movements appeared in various parts of Morocco, and the last Sa'dīs disappeared, despite English and Dutch help, by 1069/1659. The total disintegration of Morocco was prevented by the *Filālī Sharfā'* of Tāfilālt in eastern Morocco, whose leaders Maulāy ar-Rashīd and Maulāy Ismā'il (*Maulāy* = 'My lord') restored *Sharīfī* authority all through the land and built up a large standing army, which included a force of black slaves, '*Abīd al-Bukhārī* or *al-Bawākkir*. In the eighteenth century, the last foothold of the Portuguese was eliminated, and trade treaties were made with the northern European powers; but in the nineteenth century, any foreign penetration of Morocco was discouraged. Nevertheless, internal disorder grew in this period, and Morocco fought two disastrous wars against the French (1260/1844) and the Spanish (1277/1859-60). The French protectorate proclaimed in 1330/1912 saved Morocco from anarchy and from possible dismemberment by the European powers, although the conquest of the country by the French on the sultan's behalf took some twenty years. Finally, in 1375/1956 Morocco threw off the protected status and became once more independent, with the *Filālī* dynasty remaining as monarchs.

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The Sanūsiyya

1253- / 1837-

Libya

1253/1837 Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Alī, as-Sanūsī al-Kabīr, founder of the Sanūsī order

1276/1859 Sayyid al-Mahdī

1320/1902 Sayyid Aḥmad ash-Sharīf (1336/1918 gave up military and political leadership, but retained spiritual primacy till his death in 1351/1933)

1336- / 1918- Sayyid Muḥammad Idrīs (initially as military and political leader; 1371/1951 became King Idrīs of Libya)

Muḥammad b. 'Alī, known as the 'Great Sanūsī', was born in Algeria towards the end of the eighteenth century. Whilst studying in Fez, he was much influenced by the dervishes or Ṣūfīs of Morocco, especially by those of the Tijāniyya order, and later, whilst further studying in the Hijāz, he joined several dervish orders himself. In addition to this inclination towards mysticism, he developed reformist and innovatory ideas, and in Mecca, organised his own *ṭarīqa* or order, the Sanūsiyya (1253/1837). Finding his homeland Algeria in process of being taken over by the French, he settled in Cyrenaica. Several *ṭāwīyas*, religious and educational centres for the Sanūsīs, were now founded there, including in 1272/1856 that of Jaghbūb near the Egyptian border; this was to be the headquarters of the order until 1313/1895, when it was moved southwards to the less accessible oasis of Kufra. The Sanūsī message appealed to the desert-dwellers of North Africa and the Sudan. Veneration for the person of the Grand Sanūsī accorded with the mara-

boutism and saint-worship of those regions, but the firm organisation of the order gave these enthusiasms lasting effect and purpose. Expectations of a coming Mahdī, who would restore the supremacy of pristine Islam, were also rife, as events in Dongola were to show in the Mahdiyya movement there of the eighteen-eighties and nineties. The Sanūsīs hoped for a reunion and regeneration of all Islamic peoples, and the Ottoman sultan 'Abd-al-Hamīd II hoped to recruit their support as part of a Pan-Islamic crusade. The Sanūsīs were, indeed, enthusiastic propagators of their ideas, and *ṭāwīyas* were founded in the Hijāz, Egypt, the Fezzān, and as far south as Wadai and Lake Chad, the faith following in this case the trans-Saharan caravan routes.

The Sanūsīs were in the forefront of Muslim opposition to the French advance into the central Sudan, and for some thirty years were to provide the spiritual and military driving-power for resistance to the invading Italians in Libya, especially in Cyrenaica. Italy's entry into the First World War in 1915 on the Allied side inevitably inclined the Sanūsīs towards the Turkish cause, and the head of the order, Sayyid Aḥmad, held on in Cyrenaica till 1918, departing then for Istanbul; the military direction of the Muslim cause in Cyrenaica was thereafter left largely to local Sanūsī leaders. During the Second World War, the British government recognised Muḥammad Idris, who had been an exile in Egypt for twenty years, not merely as a spiritual chief but also as Amir or political and military leader of the Sanūsīs of Cyrenaica. In 1371/1951 he became king of the federated kingdom of Libya, comprising Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzān; in 1382/1963 it became a unitary state. Thus the process of the Sanūsī family's development from being heads of a religious movement to the headship of a modern Arab state is somewhat reminiscent of the Wahhābiyya and the Āl Sa'ūd in Sa'ūdī Arabia.

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